

The Revolutionary Age

A Chronicle and Interpretation of International Events

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A Bourgeois on Strikes and Deportations

THE mind of the bourgeois is peculiar. It is a perverted thing. It is the mind of the master—and the master is an enemy of life and humanity.

I had an insight into the bourgeois mind the other day. I was riding to New York from Boston, and in the "smoker" a gentleman sitting beside me started a conversation. He was a clean-cut fellow, very amiable and courteous. Doing you a favor—if you were of his class, or he thought you were—was a pleasure to him. "Business" was all over his appearance.

The conversation was of a fragmentary character. He was very emphatic in his opinion that "the only good German is a dead German," very violent and implacable. He mentioned his wife a number of times, very beautifully and sympathetically; and in speaking of his son, who was in France and had been for one year under fire, a great love welled up in his heart. His son, it was clear, was a comrade. On the whole, in spite of his attitude toward the Germans, a pleasant old gentleman.

Something he said informed me that he was riding from Lawrence, Mass., to New York, and that in a business way he was connected with the textile mills. Naturally, I steered the conversation to the strike. Immediately, a completely new man was shown to me—a man who had "sympathy" for a worker only if that worker was meek and abject; a man who believed in the most brutal means to make the worker "satisfied" with his conditions; a man who would go the limit in protecting his class interests.

"There is a great labor unrest," he said. "The workers got good wages while the war lasted but instead of saving it they spent it on drink and other unnecessary things. They should have known that the war wouldn't last forever. It is stupid of them to expect that, now the war is over, they should get the same high wages. In the Lawrence mills they made as much as \$30 and \$40 a week."

My cue was to innocently indicate surprise, and I asked about the newspaper reports that the strikers earned about \$16 a week.

"The unskilled workers get that," was his answer.

"Are the unskilled in the majority," I asked.

"Yes."

"The textile workers earn \$30 or \$40 a week"—but the majority are unskilled, and they earn only \$16 a week. . . .

"The strikers are pro-German," continued the nice gentlemen. "Ime Kaplan, their leader, was against the draft. *He's a bad man and we're going to deport him.*" (This with absolute assurance, as if he was the government; but isn't his class the government?)

"These foreign workers are terribly ignorant. They fall for the Bolshevik stuff. But (exultingly) we're just deporting 54 of these dangerous agitators, and we'll deport more."

"There seems to be a good deal of protest against these deportations," I suggested.

"Not very much," he answered. "But even that we'll prevent. Thousands are being prepared for deportation, and they will be shipped across the country and out quietly and secretly; no one will know anything about it except the government, so that there won't be any agitation about it."

He said this in a quiet, unemotional, matter-of-fact tone, as if the enormity of depriving a man of even the little opportunity for defence that the law affords was a natural thing. . . .

"This labor unrest must be severely dealt with," continued my bourgeois companion. "The I. W. W.'s and the Bolsheviks must be crushed. Haywood is a dangerous man; he's in jail now and he'll stay there. Those whom we can't deport we'll jail."

I asked him whether, in his opinion, the labor unrest would last long and whether it would have dangerous consequences.

"No," was his confident answer. "It's a sort of epidemic and will die out; it's all over the world. But we'll wait, and can afford to wait; and we'll also use the iron fist. What we need is a State Constabulary to use during strikes. The police are not enough; but

"They must have the jobs in order to live. We'll starve them into submission."

Isn't this characteristic? Here is a man, full of sympathy and courtesy in relation to his own family, to his own class, with absolutely not a spark of sympathy for the workers; kind toward his own, but brutal to the workers.

But this is the psychology of the master. The workers are there, in their opinion, to work and keep the wheels of industry running; they are as necessary as the machine, and just as important—or unimportant. They have no rights. The sense of mastery develops contempt in the master toward those who work for him; and contempt becomes brutality.

The bourgeois is a dual personality. They are not necessarily brutal, as such; they may have wells of sympathy and affection for *their own*; but the men, women and children of the working class are dirt under their feet.

Mastery degrades the master and the slave. That is inevitable. It is a perversion of life, and it perverts the finest instincts. The gentleman I was conversing with was not a brute; in fact, he was a fine fellow, in his way; he was not at all conscious of the brutality in his attitude toward workers, strikers and agitators.

When will the workers realize this? When will they realize that under the system of capitalist economic mastery they are not humans, but beasts of burden, machines for the production of profit? They do not have the opportunity to really live; they live to work, to make profits. Under Socialism alone will they work to live, to make joy and happiness for all.

My gentleman acquaintance was wrong. The labor unrest will not end—it will become stronger and more general: the workers *must* and *will* strike, more and more; Gompers will not check the revolts of the workers—Gompers will himself be repudiated; the masters cannot starve the workers into submission—the workers are coming to realize that they must act definitely and finally to become masters of their own lives by becoming masters of the shops, mills and mines in which they must work in order to live.

We are in a revolutionary age; in an age when Capitalism is breaking down, and the working class realizing its enormous power and the necessity for action. The State Constabulary and deportations cannot frighten the workers. A club and a gun cannot purchase food for the workman's family or yield him joy in life: human needs will prove mightier than guns and clubs. Deporting men and women cannot deport their ideas: wherever there are workers, there is oppression; wherever there is oppression, there are revolts and strikes; wherever there are strikes and revolts, Socialism develops, revolutionary Socialism. Oppression, strikes and Socialism are an expression of the human needs of the working class; and these needs are universal, therefore revolutionary Socialism is universal. Deport every single agitator and Socialist; and to-morrow, out of life itself, will develop a host of new agitators and Socialists, tempered and made as steel by the fires of repression.

Capitalism degrades man and perverts life. Life itself will conquer Capitalism, life itself will revolt against the power that stultifies life.

My conversation with the bourgeois gentleman, in the "smoker" in which were other bourgeois gentlemen, soldiers and workers, confirmed my faith. It is coming! Strikes—more strikes—then the Revolution, and Socialism.

Are You in the Fight?

Three weeks, and the great textile strike in Lawrence, Mass. is as solid as ever, acquiring new strength and determination.

The strikers, 30,000 of them, are isolated, opposed by press and state, having practically no money, but they are determined to wage the fight to the end.

They are prohibited from holding demonstrations in the streets by a city government prostituting itself to the mill barons; but the strikers fight. They are terrorized by the police and their pickets arrested. They are refused permission to hold mass meetings on the common by a municipal government determined to crush the industrial revolt: but the strikers fight. They are refused satisfaction in their protest against these outrages by the Governor of the State of Massachusetts: but the strikers fight, fight on and on.

The strikers have practically no money. They are living—if you can call it living—on short rations; but starvation does not lessen their determination.

Threats have been made to deport the strike leaders: the whole 30,000 strikers thereupon made application for passports for all of them to leave the country. Can you crush that spirit?

The men, women and children of the Lawrence mills are maintaining the fight. Inspired by their courage, textile workers in other towns are considering a strike—a general textile strike. A great industrial strike in all the textile mills seems to be coming; and this general strike would flame through the country, inspiring action everywhere. That would be a great event. That would give a mighty onward push to the emancipation of the American working class.

But money is needed. Money is needed to feed the women and children; money is needed to buy even the small portion of necessities required to sustain life. Money is needed to spread the strike.

Will you help? Now?

Send money to C. SILIN, 885 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.

the State Constabulary, with their horses, their shot-guns and their clubs, can move from place to place easily and quickly, and maintain order against strikers and Bolsheviks. We'll get a Constabulary soon.

"Then Samuel Gompers' return will help matters. Gompers is a very sensible and able man. The union officials are doing all they can to deal properly with the employers; in Lawrence they are against the strike; but Bolshevik agitators are getting the men against their officials. Gompers will stop this. We must have conciliation and arbitration, instead of strikes. It was the union officials who prevented a revolution in Seattle.

"American manufacturers must meet foreign competition, and in order to do this the high wages paid during the war must come down. Labor must be reasonable, if Gompers can't make labor reasonable, we'll do it in our own way."

I asked him what would be the result of the Lawrence strike.

"They'll be beaten," he answered confidently.

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We need to have the clear party note sounded now and our position sharply defined as an uncompromising revolutionary party if we are to take and hold our rightful place in the international movement. We have got to plant our party upon the rock if it is not to be swept away in the oncoming tempest.—EUGENE V. DEBS, February 15, 1919.

A League for Camouflage

THE draft of the "constitution of the League of Nations" is ready. The most vital provision of the "constitution" is that providing that the League shall have an Executive Council of representatives from the "Big Five"—the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan. The control of the affairs of the League is in this Executive Council, and this Council consists of five nations! The "League of Nations," as projected, follows closely the tendency of modern trust Capitalism—the "Big Five" hold the majority stock, while all the other nations who may come in will constitute the minority stockholders. A League that is controlled by five big imperialistic powers is not a League of Nations but a League against the nations. It is an alliance of the victors in the war, for world dominion; it is, moreover, a camouflage to disguise the imperialistic appetites of the powers and to "satisfy" the longings of the masses, who have bled in the war, for permanent peace. It is a deception and betrayal—Capitalism can do nothing else but deceive and betray the masses. As against this League against the nation, our formula is: overthrow of Capitalism and Imperialism as the necessary preliminary to the organization of a League of Nations through international Communist Socialism.

Industrial Revolution

IN an interview, Mayor Ole Hansen, of Seattle, declares that the recent strike of 70,000 workers "was an attempted revolution. . . . The plan was to start the revolt here and have it spread to other cities. . . . The intent, openly and covertly, was for the overthrow of the industrial system: here first, then everywhere." Mayor Hansen admits that there was no violence in the strike yet boasts openly of the fact that machine guns and rifles were to be used by the municipal government. The Seattle strike did not revolutionize the industrial system; but it is an enormous factor in revolutionizing the consciousness and modes of action of the American proletariat. The Seattle strike, apparently, caved in because of the betrayal of union officials, upon whom the strike was imposed, and because it seems the workers were not yet prepared to come to grips with the machinery of repression, and seize power. But the day will come when the union officials and all other traitors will be swept aside; the day will come when the proletariat is prepared to seize power; and then we shall have the industrial revolution, and Socialism. In the interval—prepare!

They are Still There!

THERE is, at this moment, an utter confusion concerning the Allies' policy toward Soviet Russia. Secret diplomacy is in action. Rumors are that the Prinkipo Conference is to be abandoned; is this because the Bolsheviks scored by accepting? Another rumor is that a new conference will be held somewhere else.

The New York World, February 18, accuses the factions opposed to the Soviets of being tainted with

"reaction as well as cowardice," and says: "In the main, they seem to be without popular support. We cannot wonder at the lack of faith in them when we reflect that they do so little to inspire respect and confidence and depend altogether on external force to establish their rights."

The American Government has announced that its troops are to be withdrawn in the spring, when weather will permit; in the meantime two companies of engineers are sent to Archangel to "facilitate" this departure.

Still, fighting proceeds against the Soviet Republic. The Soviet Republic is still isolated from the world; it cannot communicate freely with the world, nor purchase food and machinery. Is it the purpose of the Allies to isolate Russia, and starve it? Promises and proclamations are frequent—but alien troops are still at Archangel and Vladivostok!

Our N. E. C.

THE National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party is developing intense resentment against it among the party members. This resentment is preparing to burst forth in a struggle for the capture of the party for the party, for revolutionary Socialism.

The armistice and the German Revolution came in November; great events requiring great action—but our N. E. C. was dumb and inert. No clear call to action; no call for an immediate emergency National Convention of the party. The N. E. C. had neither initiative nor courage in the great crisis.

Local after local of the party demanded an emergency convention; but the N. E. C. at its January session refused to issue the call, and instead issued a call for an "amnesty convention" in May, together with bourgeois liberal organizations. The intent was clear: to satisfy the membership with a convention, and sabotage the call for a party convention. Party matters cannot be discussed at this "amnesty convention;" and, moreover, the issue of political prisoners should be a class and Socialist issue for the party. We must end the dickering and compromising with bourgeois liberals, who are potentially counter-revolutionary. On this head, the Detroit Socialist Party has sent the following resolution to the National Secretary:

"We, the Executive Committee of Local Wayne County (Detroit), at our regular meeting January 30, 1919, protest against the action of the National Executive Committee in calling a so-called Convention in association with reactionary bourgeois organizations of all kinds, and failing to call a regular Convention, which is so urgently needed at this time to thrash out difficulties arising within our ranks due to the world situation."

Other locals have protested against this "convention;" and they have protested, moreover, against the arbitrary act of the N. E. C. in designating Algeron Lee, John M. Work and James Oneal to "represent" the party at the Berne Congress, and against participation in the Berne Congress.

According to our party constitution, the N. E. C. has no right to select "international delegates." When the motion to designate delegates was submitted to the N. E. C., member Katterfield called the N. E. C.'s attention to the unconstitutionality of the motion, and refused to vote. Comrade Katterfield was right; but he should have gone a step further, and appealed to the membership to prevent the N. E. C. from usurping authority; there must be mass action in the party against our reactionary officials.

The attitude of the N. E. C. is determined by the fact that the majority of its members are adherents of moderate Socialism, and they are acting to prevent the revolutionary sentiments of the party from conquering the party. They are moderates; they have learnt nothing and forgotten nothing; they are not in harmony with the revolutionary ideals and policy now vitalizing the international movement. They are pledging our party to the counter-revolutionary Berne Congress, to the yellow "International."

There is real activity in the party—intense revolutionary aspirations. But all this finds no expression in our N. E. C.; on the contrary, the N. E. C. is a damper on the party. The activity of the party locals is isolated; there is no national unity of action. The N. E. C. should have issued a call to the great struggle; but it did not; it is paltering, evading. There is the proletarian revolution; there is the problem of the new International; there are great strikes, developing mass action—but our N. E. C. does not act; it represses.

The present N. E. C., we are convinced, does not represent the party. It must be repudiated. The membership has it in its power to elect revolutionary Socialists to the N. E. C. at the coming referendum. It should, it must.

Congress Investigates

THE Congress of this United States is a pitiable thing. It is intellectually sterile and morally corrupt. It has no conception of the problems of the day; the only role it can play, apparently, is the role of marplot.

Congress had practically nothing to do with the management of the war. When the President wanted war, it declared war; when the President asked for conscription, Congress adopted the Conscription Act; when the President demanded new authority, it was granted; and when the President usurped power, Congress did not protest. It was an impotent and despicable Congress, too ignorant and provincial to influence the course of events.

The war ends, but the impotence of Congress does not end. The American delegates to the Peace Conference were chosen by the President, Congress being shoved aside. Congress protested, but that didn't alter things in any way. Just prior to his departure for Europe, President Wilson put the whole matter of reconstruction up to Congress; but in two months Congress has done absolutely nothing on this matter; soldiers and sailors are being demobilized; unemployment is increasing; great problems are ahead—but Congress does absolutely nothing except indulge in talk, and cheap and uninteresting talk at that.

The Congress of these United States is intellectually, morally and politically bankrupt. . . .

During the war Congress demonstrated its incapacity to cope with elemental forces and problems. So it talked—and held investigations.

Now that the war is over, a new elemental force and problem disturbs the world—the problem of labor unrest, of the awakening of the working class. Everywhere there is unrest, strikes and industrial revolts; and all this is expressing itself in an acceptance of Bolshevism—and Bolshevism is nothing but revolutionary Socialism. This force is destined to conquer Capitalism, to transform the world; it is an acute danger to Capitalism. Congress feels this force, senses its danger; but it is impotent to deal with it, cannot deal with it, because it is an inevitable expression of the collapse of Capitalism and the needs of the working class. So—Congress investigates!

The Senate, just now, is "investigating" Bolshevism. It is a very peculiar investigation. All the old-wives' myths and rumors that have been floating about in the press these two years are coming before the Senate as if something new. Rumor is accepted as fact, vituperation as argument. Every witness that the Senate Committee has heard is convinced that Bolshevism is a vile thing oppressing the Russian people, and the Senators are equally convinced: but still the Russian people accept the Bolsheviks, fight and die to maintain the Bolshevik Government—their own government. Poor souls, they do not know how much the Senate disapproves of the thing they love!

It is useless to consider in detail the lies and slanders which are offered as a feast to the Senate. But one thing is interesting: the story of sexual immorality in Russia.

It is an indisputable fact of history that every revolutionary movement, whether religious or social, has been accused of immorality and sexual debauchery by the master class. The early Christians were stigmatized as sexual degenerates; and the accusations about their orgies would make spicy reading. Sexual debauchery and perversion were attributed to the communist and religious movements in the Middle Ages and to the French Revolution. Socialism, since its inception, has been stigmatized as a movement for sexual promiscuity.

Why is this? Every master class is itself a class of sexual degenerates, and imagines that its opponents are also. Accusations of sexual immorality accomplish two purposes: they arouse indignation, and at the same time they titillate the passions of the mob. There is a perverse sexual satisfaction in this sort of thing; it clearly stigmatizes the mind of the master class.

It was said that Socialism meant sexual promiscuity; that it meant every woman for every man, and that children should become the property of the state. You have a Socialist regime in Russia; presto!—"decrees" are produced which incorporate these ideas! This, in spite of the fact that the actual decrees on marriage and divorce of the Soviet Government are available—decrees which are human and civilized, infinitely superior to the laws of capitalist society, and recognizing the purity of the sexual relation.

Capitalism, itself a dictatorship, accuses the Soviets of being a dictatorship; itself a breeder of terrorism, Capitalism indulges in righteous indignation at the "terrorism" of the Soviets; itself degrading sex, prostituting women, and making love and mar-

riage a mockery, Capitalism attributes all these vile things to the Soviets.

Congress is Capitalism—corrupt, perverted, bankrupt. It investigates—but the proletariat is preparing for action.

Which International?

THE facts of the war and of the developing proletarian revolution stress the need of international solidarity and action: Socialism is not Socialism, but a miserable petty bourgeois thing, unless it is international in purposes and in action.

Socialism, accordingly, must have an international expression. But the International of Socialism must be a real International, an International pledged to the proletarian revolution, and not an aggregation of petty bourgeois Socialists, social reformers and social-patriots.

The "International Congress" which has been holding sessions at Berne is the final proof of the fact that moderate Socialism is petty bourgeois and counter-revolutionary. It is not clear whether it was called by the "Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist Congress" or by Camille Huysmans of the old International Bureau, or by both. But the old International and its Bureau are dead—dead through their own criminal activity in supporting the war and disrupting the international solidarity of Socialism. They have no mandate to represent Socialism; they have no mandate to call an International Congress; they have no mandate to call an International Congress that a revolutionary Socialist can respect. Let the dead bury their dead.

Whom did this congress consist of? It consisted of the reactionary Labor Party of England, and its bourgeois Henderson; of reactionary British Trades Unions; of the Ebert-Scheidemann Socialists; of the "centre" Socialists of France who are favoring a "Wilson peace;" of the wholly reactionary Hjalmar Branting; of other "right" and "centre" Socialists, all of whom either favored the war of Imperialism or pursued a counter-revolutionary policy of bourgeois pacifism. The final act of stultification performed by the Congress was its desperate efforts to get Samuel Gompers—"our" ultra-reactionary, unspeakable Gompers—to participate. That the Independent Socialist Party of Germany participated is another indication of the fatal compromise policy of that party. That Fritz Adler participated is an indication of his uncertain temperament, and does not alter the character of the Congress.

This Congress did not include the Bolsheviks and the Spartacists in its call—as well it might, since these courageous, intelligent representatives of revolutionary Socialism would never commit stultification by participating in such a Congress, and have repudiated the Congress. The Italian Socialist Party and the Socialist Party of Switzerland repudiated the Congress as reactionary. Revolutionary Socialism everywhere has repudiated the congress. The Belgian Socialist Party refused to participate because the "majority Socialists" of Germany were invited—not because these were "yellow Socialists," but because they were German!

The Berlin *Vorwärts*, the Ebert-Scheidemann organ, counter-revolutionary during the war and after the war, said just before the Berne Congress convened:

German Socialists will accept with deep satisfaction the summons addressed to them. From the first day of the war it has been their passionate effort to reunite the torn threads of international relations and to give their foreign comrades an account of their attitude. Upon the fate of Germany and the result of peace depends to an endless extent the future of Socialism. To save Germany from the downfall with which a peace of violence threatens her is to save the world and Socialism. We trust in world Socialism, not Bolshevism, but in a peaceful democracy of labor which will come sooner or later." (Our italics.)

The unctuous hypocrisy and nationalistic spirit of this pronouncement are not its most important features. Clearly, it indicates that the Berne Congress was to act against Bolshevism. And it did! The majority of the delegates were against the Bolsheviks, against the proletarian revolution; Bolshevism was denounced in the gutter style of the bourgeois press, particularly by Hjalmar Branting of Sweden. Arthur Henderson had said: "The problem of the best policy to adopt toward Bolshevism in Russia will also be discussed at the conference." The only policy of the Socialist toward Bolshevism in Russia is to pursue the revolutionary class struggle in his own country, not to discuss in conferences the form of condemnation or of camouflage. The decision was to designate a "commission to study" Bolshevism in Russia! Clearly a revolutionary act!

The delegates indulged in the highly Socialist activity of discussing "responsibility" for the war—that is to say, whether the Central Powers or the Allies were responsible. The French and German "Socialists" had lively tilts on this problem. That Imperialism was responsible, and that the revolutionary

struggle against all Imperialism was imperative—this was not in the consciousness of these "Socialists." The Congress, moreover, indulged in the miserable activity of discussing the League of Nations—Capitalism. Their attitude was clearly that of President Wilson, the attitude of bourgeois democracy of bourgeois liberals. It was a Congress of Socialists, but to Socialism.

But what could one expect? The "Socialists" represented had been clear counter-revolutionary during the war: convening in an "international" congress could not and did not alter their policy. They had been united with bourgeois democracy: they maintained that unity. The Austro-German delegates were afraid of the penalty that might be imposed upon them by defeat; the Allied Socialists were afraid that their nations would be deprived of the "fruits of victory."

Europe was on the verge of the proletarian revolution; and these "Socialists" act against the revolution, dicker and compromise with Capitalism. The situation insisted upon the struggle for a revolutionary peace, for a Lenin peace; but this "Socialist" Congress favored a bourgeois peace, a Wilson peace. At a Socialist meeting in Paris, at which Thomas Renaudel and Longuet were shouted down, the revolutionary Socialist Loriot issued the slogan that the Congress did not issue: "President Wilson is an able man who is seeking to save the bourgeoisie, but he must not be followed. The moment has come to choose between him and Lenin." But this policy was too revolutionary and aggressive for the yellows at Berne.

The Berne Congress is the last convulsive gasp of the old International. Its corpse is now a stinking carrion. There must be a new International, an International of revolutionary Socialism, of the final struggle and victory.

This problem of the International is an acute one. It is the test of one's revolutionary convictions. Our party by the usurpatory action of the N. E. C. in designating three delegates to "represent" the Socialist Party at the Berne Congress, is officially committed to the yellow International. This act the party must emphatically repudiate.

We do not want an "International" of the social-patriots, of moderate petty bourgeois Socialism. We do not want a "centre" International of Zimmerwald and the Independent Socialists of Germany. We want and will have a revolutionary International, an International which recognizes the revolutionary character of our epoch, of those Socialists who will consciously and aggressively wage the revolutionary struggle.

There cannot be any compromise on this issue. There cannot be any compromise with the past. The old International expressed moderate Socialism; it became an obstacle to the revolutionary development of the proletariat, petty bourgeois and counter-revolutionary; it must be repudiated. Under the stress of life itself, Marxism and Socialism, perverted by the petty bourgeois International, are coming into their own, vital and vitalizing, preparing to storm the bastions of international Imperialism. In this great struggle, we must use the revolutionary spirit of Socialism, we must abandon the old compromising policy, we must repudiate whoever and whatever hesitates and wavers.

There is a new International, which does not have to hold a Congress in order to realize itself—the International of revolutionary Socialism in every country, which does not yearn for showy conferences, but which wages the Socialist, proletarian war against Capitalism. This Socialism and these groups, and these alone, are worthy of organizing the Third International.

At its recent congress in Moscow, the Communist Party of Russia decided to convoke an International Congress at which revolutionary Socialism alone will participate. It issued a program for international revolutionary Socialism based upon the programs of the Communist Party of Russia and the Communist Labor Party of Germany, which declares that at this moment there is only one Socialist struggle and that is the struggle for the overthrow of the international system of Capitalism; that the immediate task of the revolutionary proletariat is to struggle for the seizure of power and the dictatorship of the proletariat; that it is necessary to disarm the bourgeoisie and arm the proletariat as a phase of initiating the final struggle against Capitalism; that a fight without mercy must be waged against the social-patriots who oppose the revolution.

This is the policy of the international proletariat. The Bolshevik-Spartan International is an International of revolutionary Socialism.

Which International, comrades of the Socialist Party?

Bolshevikjabs

WE have decided that comment from us on the Senate Committee which is investigating Bolshevism and the witnesses who have appeared before it this week would be "painting the lily and to the rainbow adding another hue."

Lots of people in the United States are foregoing dinner but Senator Borah is apparently the only one who gets any publicity out of it.

We wonder how the idea got around that a League of Nations meant a league of all nations?

If it was a league of all nations there would be nothing to be in league against.

Now that the German workers are finding out that being "good" in the Ebert-Scheidemann sense is not going to save them we wonder what they will do?

"German Assembly Quits In Mourning After Armistice" says a headline. Which is this bourgeois Assembly mourning most—the Armistice terms or the impetus given by them to the Spartan movement?

Who said secret diplomacy? President Wilson is coming to Boston and will deliver a public address on the Peace Conference. Isn't that open diplomacy?

The New York *Tribune* in a recent issue gives a map of the world showing the territory controlled by the League of Nations and it marks this territory black. More Bolshevik propaganda!

Mr. William Hard writing in the *New Republic* suggests that "perhaps Mr. Hoover was slightly misunderstood when Senators seemed to assume that he would take a loaf of bread and show it to Lenin and offer to let him have it if he would stop being a Bolshevik."

No wonder Seattle "labor leaders" are annoyed—Mayor Hansen is getting all the publicity and credit for breaking the strike.

We hope that Herr Scheidemann will enter a vigorous protest against Emperor-President Ebert turning Bolshevism and confiscating 1,000,000 marks a year.

As we have often remarked before these Bolsheviks are a poor lot no matter what way one looks at it. They have established a dictatorship in Russia and have been acting the part of despots for some time, but now the New York *Times* publishes the news that the Bolsheviks are arming the workers and even the school children. Surely there is something wrong here! Bourgeois dictatorships never did anything so foolish. They invariably disarm the people and arm their own particular gang of thugs who will do exactly as they are told. Now that the people of Russia are being armed and, as we know from the press reports, that the Bolsheviks represent nobody, we may await with confidence their complete overthrow almost any day.

In view of the fact that some of the European countries have refused to accept the deportees and that Congress is determined to ship them out of the country we are beginning to glimpse what is meant by "the freedom of the seas."

J. J. McEntee, Business Agent of the New York District of the International Association of Machinists, is reported as saying that "I have been unable to learn of any labor men who were deported or are in danger of deportation" and thinks that the members of the Micrometer Lodge are wrong in characterizing the affair as a "shameful act." Mr. McEntee has apparently a very narrow conception of the term "labor men." Perhaps after a few more Seattle gentlemen of Mr. McEntee's ilk will find that their ideas must undergo a thorough revision. What does the Micrometer Lodge say?

The press first reported that Premier Clemenceau's assailant was a workman, then he became a Russian, now he is a "moderate" anarchist, tomorrow he may become a Socialist or an I. W. W. and then we would have another excuse for the deportations.

"Mrs. Inch threatens to name rich men" says the New York *World*. We had no idea the Bolsheviks had become so powerful. Such a threat in Moscow, according to all accounts, would make anyone tremble, but in New York. . . .

The Immorality of the Bolsheviki

A Study in Myths and Facts

PUBLICITY, second only to that received by the notorious Sisson Documents, is being given to certain decrees regarding marriage and the relation of the sexes generally which Roger E. Simmons, former representative in Russia of the Department of Commerce, has laid before the Senate Committee on Bolshevism. Mr. Simmons gives these documents as the official decrees of the Bolshevik Government through a local Soviet. The whole tendency of the report of the proceedings is to show that the Bolsheviki consider women not as human beings but merely as sexual machines.

The interference of Mr. Simmons' testimony is that marriage is completely abolished, that "Free Love" in the bourgeois sense is forced upon women and that the entire sex is organized on a scheme of state prostitution, a working card being tendered instead of money. It is well to remember when considering some of these "facts" about Russia those other facts which are not denied even by the most violent enemies of the Bolsheviki. One such fact to be remembered in connection with the question of how Soviet Russia deals with women is that working women participate in the Soviet Government on an equality with men and that some of the highest administrative offices in Russia are held by women.

One of the decrees which Mr. Simmons testifies to as official is in part as follows:

This decree is proclaimed by the Free Association of Anarchists in the town of Saratov. In compliance with the decision of the Soviet of Peasants' and Soldiers' and Workers' Deputies of Kronstadt, the abolition of the private possession of women.

MOTIVES

Social inequalities and legitimate marriage having been a condition in the past which served as an instrument in the hands of the bourgeoisie, thanks to which all the best species of all the beautiful women have been the property of the bourgeoisie, have prevented the proper continuation of the human race. Such ponderous arguments have induced the present organization to edit the following decree:

1. From March 1 the right to possess women having reached the ages 17 to 32 is abolished.
3. This decree does not affect women having five children.
4. The former owners may retain the right of using their wife without awaiting their turn.
5. In case of resistance of the husband he shall forfeit the right of the former paragraph.
6. All women according to this decree are exempted from private ownership and are proclaimed the property of the whole nation.
7. The distribution and management of the appropriated women in compliance with the decision of the above organization are transferred to the Anarchist Saratov Club. In three days from the publication of this decree all women given by it to the use of the nation are obliged to present themselves to the given address and give the required information.
9. Male citizens have the right to use one woman not oftener than three times a week, for three hours, observing the rules specified below.
10. Each man wishing to use a piece of public property should be a bearer of certificate from the Factories Committee, professional union, or Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Council, certifying that he belongs to the working class family.
12. Male citizens not belonging to the working class in order to have the right equally with the proletariat are obliged to pay 100 roubles monthly into the public funds.
14. All women proclaimed by this decree to be the national property will receive from the funds an allowance of 238 roubles a month.
15. All women who are pregnant are released of the direct State duties for four months, up to three months before and one month after childbirth.
16. The children born are given to an institution for training after they are one month old where they are trained and educated until they are 17 years of age at the cost of the public funds.
19. Those who are guilty of spreading venereal disease will be held responsible and severely punished.
20. Women having lost their health may apply to the Soviet for a pension.

The provisions of this decree could only emanate from petty bourgeois minds. Even the wildest Anarchists would not produce such a pornographic document; moreover, the "Free Association of Anarchists," quite clearly is not the Soviet Government—the Anarchists, in fact, are violently opposed to the Bolsheviki.

Editorials sizzling with righteous wrath accompany the publication of this and other decrees. The American public is invited to behold what is in store for it if it ever attempted to stray from the pleasant and virtuous ways of Capitalism, broadsides of indignation are poured forth against the Bolsheviki libertines and outraged virtue assails this wholesale immorality and violation of all the sacred ideals of sex virtue and family love. When, however, it is remembered that these editorial writers are constantly engaged in upholding the present system of society and that their virtuous wrath is curbed when dealing with our own system of prostitution, white slavery and female degradation one is forced to wonder whether the indignation is as real as it appears.

Even the horrible examples cited by Mr. Simmons do not deprive women of their liberty of choice and their personal freedom in other matters. Under Capitalism (the system of society which gentlemen like Mr. Simmons, the personnel of the Senate Committee and newspaper editors are so vigorously supporting), things are different. The details of the white slave traffic are so revolting that they cannot be put into print, the particulars of prostitution are so hideous that they cannot be published. Under our present system women are sold into slavery at so much a pound, young girls are decoyed from their homes and sent into brothels there to do the bidding of their owners, women are kept confined to houses lest they would run away. In these brothels they are forced, sometimes by bodily punishment, into relations with diseased men and when they have contracted disease are forced to contain their "trade." Statistics give the average life of these women as five years and the number of suicides is appalling. But statistics do not compute the sufferings and degradation that are crowded into the five years, the shame, the misery, the loneliness, the bodily agony, the mental torture. An investigation in the British House of Commons some time ago resulted in the disclosure of the fact that houses of prostitution were maintained with the connivance, if not open support, of the English army authorities, in which each woman had relations with over 100 men in a week and often with over 20 men in one day. The streets of the great cities of all "civilized" countries are swarming with women plying this "trade."

But all these things are matters of little moment to these virtuous men because the women who swell the ranks of the prostitutes are the women of the working class. The bodily and mental anguish of these women is of no importance!

In Russia the incentive for traffic in women's bodies is removed—there is no longer a profit to be derived out of their agony. The Soviets had to revise the old system with regard to the sexes as it has revised it in all other matters. It is quite true that decrees have been issued on the subject. Some changes have been made in the marriage system but no decree has been issued abolishing marriage.

Decrees have been issued regarding divorce in which a commonsense attitude is taken towards the question. If both parties desire the divorce it is granted without any obstacles being placed in the way, if only one side wishes the separation the matter comes before a local judge and his decision is not acceptable to both parties then the case is laid before a jury. Notice of divorce is published in the local official paper both before and after the decree has been granted. Where there have been children to the marriage the court decides which party shall have custody and whether the children will take the father's or the mother's name. In the event that the application for divorce hinges on the question of the validity of the marriage a jury decides the case.

The following decree regarding marriage has been issued by the Council of People's Commissaires, the central government of Soviet Russia:

The Russian Republic from now on recognizes civil marriages only.

A civil marriage is performed in accordance with the following rules:

1. Persons, desiring to enter into marriage, announce their intention verbally or in written form to the Department for Registration of Marriages and Births (in their locality), attached to the City Board of Aldermen.

Note: The desire to perform a religious marriage together with a civil marriage is considered a solely private affair of the parties entering into marriage.

2. Announcements of the desire to enter into marriage are not accepted: a) from male persons under 18 years of age; from female—under 16; the Male natives of Transcaucasia may enter into marriage on their 16th birthday, and female natives, on the 13th; b) from relatives, from brothers and sisters and half brothers and half sisters; in such cases the relationship between an illegitimate child and his posterity on one hand and his father and the relative on the other hand—is recognized; c) from persons who have already entered into marriage; and d) from insane persons.

Persons desirous of entering into marriage go to the Department for Registration of Marriage and sign their names in regard to the absence of obstacles mentioned in Article 2 of this Decree, and also give their signatures to the effect that they enter into marriage voluntarily.

Persons who intentionally give false statements as to the absence of obstacles, enumerated in Article 2 are brought to court for giving false information, and their marriage is declared void.

Having taken the signatures, the Chief of the Department for Registration of Marriages enters the marriage into the Record Book and declares the marriage act valid.

The parties entering into marriage are free to determine whether they will use the name of the man or the wife, or both names jointly.

The parties entering into marriage receive a copy of their marriage certificate.

3. Complaints in regard to refusal to perform marriage or in regard to mistakes in registering it may be presented within an unlimited period of time to local judge (where the marriage is registered); complaints of the judges decision may be made in accordance with the general rules.

The inference from the reports of the Senate Committee published in the press is that children have ceased to be under the care of their parents or, in fact, to in any sense retain their identity as members of a family. The following decrees, one signed by Alexandra Kollontay, Commissaire of Social Welfare (Mme Kollontay is the only woman in the world to hold a high executive government office and the Soviet Government is the only government in the world which has an executive government department of Social Welfare) and the other by Lenin shows in what light the Bolsheviki treat the question of child welfare:

Two million young lives were yearly dwindling in Russia because of the darkness of the oppressed people, because of apathy of the class State. Two million suffering mothers were saturating yearly the Russian earth with tears and were covering with their blistered hands the early graves of the innocent victims of the hideous social order. The human thought, which had for centuries sought a path, has at last reached the bright epoch of workers' reforms, which will safeguard the mother for the child and the child for the mother. Bright samples of capitalist moral—homes for orphans filled above their capacity, having a colossal mortality rate and a hideous form of nursing the infants, which form was an insult to the sacred feelings of a helpless laboring mother and which made the mother-citizen a dull nursing animal—all these horrors of a nightmare have fortunately, sunk in the dark mist of the past since the victory of the workers and the peasants. A morning, bright and pure as the children themselves has come.

You, working women, laboring mother-citizens, with your responsive hearts—you brave builders of the new social life—you ideal pedagogues, children's physicians and nurses—all of you are called by the new Soviet Russia to contribute your minds and feelings to the building of the great structure of social welfare of the future generations. All the small and large institutions of the Commissariat of Social Welfare which serve the children—all of them from the day of publication of this decree, mould into one state organization and are transformed to the supervision of the Department for safeguarded mothers and children, so as to create an inseparable chain together with the Institutions for the care of pregnant women, for the purpose of bringing up mentally and physically strong citizens. The Petrograd Home, with all the auxiliary branches, becomes part of the "Palace for Safeguarding Motherhood and Infancy", as one of its departments and is named "The Palace of Infancy". The Moscow Home becomes part of the Moscow Institute of Motherhood and is named "The Moscow Institute of Infancy".

For the purpose of precipitating the realization of the necessary reforms for the safeguarding childhood in Russia, at the Department for Safeguarding Motherhood and Infancy a Committee is being organized. It is to be composed of representatives of the Soviet of Workers' Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, of Workers' organizations and of specialists, interested in the question of social welfare of the infants. The following principles are to be the Committee's guiding principles:

1. Safeguarding the mother for the child: the best drop of milk for the child—is the milk from its mother's breast.

2. Bring up the child in an atmosphere of a widely developed Socialist family.

3. To create for the child conditions, which would lay a foundation for the development of its physical and mental strength and for a bright understanding of life.

People's Commissaire: A. Kollontay.

Member of the Collegium, supervising the Department for Safeguarding Motherhood and Infancy: N. Koroleff.

Sec'y: Zvetkoff.

January 31, 1918.

DECREE ON COMMISSIONS FOR CARE OF MINORS

Article 1. Trial and imprisonment for children and those under age are abolished.

Article 2. The cases of those not of age of both sexes who have been guilty of acts detrimental to the society are to be dealt with by special Commission for Care of Minors.

Article 3. The above mentioned Commissions are under the sole jurisdiction of the People's Commissariat of Social Welfare and are composed as follows: One representative each of the Commissariats of Social Welfare, People's Education and Justice—not less than three people in all, one of whom must be a physician.

Article 4. On investigating the cases of those under age, the Commission either frees them or sends them to one of the institutions of Social Welfare, corresponding with the offence.

Article 5. The Commissaire of Social Welfare is charged with the task of working out instructions to the Commissions and the selection of types of institutions of Social Welfare.

Article 6. All cases of those under age which are pending in the courts of which have led to imprisonment, must be retried.

Chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissaires: V. Ulianoff (Lenin).

People's Commissaire of Justice: E. Z. Steinberg.

Chief Clerk: Vladimir Bonch-Bruievitch.

Secretary of the Soviet: N. Gorbounoff.

Published in the organ of the Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government, January 14th, 1918.

The Revolution in Prison

HEAR ye! Hear ye! We have a cause to uphold opinions and ideas to express—so, dear reader, lend us your ear while we unburden ourselves.

Tho there are bars to the right of us, bars to the left of us, behind us and in front of us, tool-proof steel above us and concrete underneath us, our hearts and minds dwell in the outer world where the armed hosts of the Proletariat are wresting their bright, Mother Earth, from the grasp of the master class.

It is mainly in the light of the experience and tactics of the Revolutionary Proletariat of Europe in relation to the propaganda and activities of the radicals in our dearly beloved United States with which our opinions and ideas will deal. It must be manifest to the European Proletariat in action that the new conditions to be faced in these United States, require a change of tactics in meeting the enemy. Believing in hitting the bourgeoisie where it hurts, our board of strategy will publish from time to time what it considers the most efficient means.

While there is unity of opinion among the politicals in Pima County Bastile on a great many questions, they differ strongly on some. Occasionally, during discussions when they cast off their philosophical calm a wordy explosion occurs, followed by days of deep silence. In future issues we shall endeavor to give an account of these discussions.

Our readers will find us both serious and humorous. We shall publish sketches and poetry and try to make the magazine as attractive as possible. Who our poet will be no one knows; but we expect to develop one.

Thus, sans advertising, sans subscribers, not caring a rap about such trivialities as free press, free speech, laws and conventions, we name thee Bastile and send thee forth on the troubled waters.

* * *

SHALL AMERICA BE LAST?

THUS spake certain wise men unto their slaves: "America First." But I say unto you, be not deceived. Gaze over yonder whence you brethren who manipulate the levers amidst the clanging of great machines, who plow the earth, sow the seed and reap the harvest, who burrow like moles in the bowels of the earth—hear them as they hurl defiance at the masters in slave-bound lands, "We are the First."

Arouse yourselves, ye rebels, lest it be said "America was Last." Cast off your time worn methods which you fondly believed, and perhaps still believe, will emancipate the workers. What have petitions, resolutions, and delegations accomplished? What has voting and participation in bourgeois parliaments accomplished?

Consider petitions, resolutions, and delegations. It is not necessary to cite what happened on innumerable occasions when these instruments were employed to protest against obnoxious legislation, or when during a strike, or as the result of a frame up, a champion of labor was imprisoned. They weren't worth the energy and money spent upon them.

Consider now the political field. In the labyrinth of politics labor has been shamelessly betrayed time after time. Their representatives, tainted by bourgeois associations and opportunism, deserted their principles when the war was declared. It is here by means legal and extra-legal that the bourgeoisie can nullify any radical legislation. Here the bourgeoisie is all-powerful.

Nay, politics is not the logical field for proletarian activity. They have no interest in the political state, they have no interest in changing its laws. Their interest lies in a fundamental economic change, the abolition of the wages system, the abolition of private ownership of the means of production. This can only be accomplished by direct action on the economic field—industrial organization, where no worker is disfranchised, where every worker has a voice. On the industrial field the proletariat is all-powerful.

The I. W. W. whose shibboleth is "Abolition of the wage system" is working along direct lines. Radicals must lend their energy to improve its organization and extend its dominion in the East. In the West the I. W. W. have become a powerful faction on the economic field and soon the A. F. of L. will dwindle to the proportion of a Wednesday evening prayer meeting.

Vigorous propaganda campaigns must be carried on. The numerous Labor Defenders, newspapers and periodicals established in the interest of the I. W. W. on trial or in jail must be placed on a permanent basis under the editorial direction of capable and experienced propagandists.

So arouse yourself, ye rebels, or it will surely be said "America was Last." Help to organize and agitate for the O. B. U.—One Big Union. The masters fear this organization more than a House of Repre-

In the Pima County Jail there are a number of "politicals" who issue a little "Magazine." The cover is in ink; the inside pages in pencil (apparently ink is scarce). We print extracts with one comment; the emphasis on "economic action" is not in accord with the new conceptions of the Revolution.

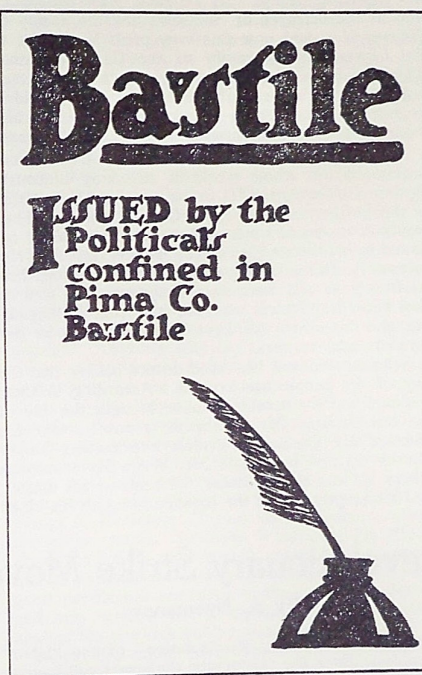
sentatives composed of Socialists. Yea, the O. B. U. strikes at the heart of social injustice.

* * *

"Double, double, toil and trouble;
Fire burn and cauldron bubble."

SINCE the signing of the armistice we have witnessed the capitalist class using a combination of its three methods of combating revolutionary ideas. During normal times they used these singly.

The forward moving revolutionary movement has thrown them into a fever of fear and caused them to resort to silence, ridicule and suppression—all in one beautiful-melange.



The following excerpt from a capitalist newspaper will illustrate what they are fearful of:

"Up thru the European chaos is surely creeping the menace of Bolshevism, not Socialism, but that Bolshevism which is the result of reckless modern materialism."

"That is why the league of nations is supremely important. If the league of nations is Utopian, then our spiritual strength is exhausted and civilization will go down in a welter of barbarous slaughter."

Forgetting his sophism regarding "civilization" and "barbarous slaughter" we will assure the writer of the above that there will be a league of nations.

In fact there will be two leagues of nations—one a combination of capitalist nations, the other of working class nations. And while they prate of peace we will say there can be no harmony, no concord, no peace until the whole world is resolved to a common basis—a co-operative basis, where the means of production are the universal property of the workers of the world.

The same issue which contained the paragraphs quoted also carried an article ridiculing the amateurish attempt of the Spartacus group of Germany taking over several industrial plants. The author was in a jocular mood—he took their name, Spartacus, and constructed a pun in which he referred to them as the Spartacus, Sparticides, Spartacus and Spartacus. He tried to make them look very ridiculous. That's what his master wanted.

We have also had an example of how they apply silence. For instance, they did not inform us that a general strike was in progress in Switzerland, but they did inform us when the backbone of the movement was broken. They did not inform us that disorder

and unrest prevailed in France, but they did tell us that martial law had been proclaimed. And so the beast works.

In this country the U. S. Attorney General is preparing new measures for suppression and as usual it will be directed against the I. W. W., whom the master class fear more than any other organization.

Tho their most active members fill the penitentiaries the membership of the I. W. W. has remained on the job and as a result their organization grows.

This indomitable spirit counts and is absolutely necessary in the trying times ahead of us. The capitalist class is fully aware of what it is doing when it resorts to suppression. They know that suppression does suppress for a time—they know that it will defer the realization of our ideal.

Yea! a great many of us will return to jail again—our present bit isn't the last bit.

Onward with the task outside—agitate and organize on the job for the industrial republic. Organize and hasten true world peace!

* * *

A SCRAP FROM A SCRAP OF PAPER

"In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial...."
U. S. Constitution.

THE politicals have now been confined three months in Pima County Bastile and a trial still seems as far off as ever.

Wobbly papers from the length and breath of the land disclose to us that we are not as unfortunate as many other political offenders. Nearly two-hundred I. W. W. are in jail in Omaha, Wichita, Fresno, Spokane and other places awaiting trial.

One group of wobblies has been incarcerated over one year without trial—held under the "spinach" act. Another group has been in the tank two years on another charge.

In the next issue we will picture a few Bastiles which shame the Black Hole of Calcutta and are a close seconds to the torture chambers of the Spanish Inquisition. News which radical papers in the east would probably consider unfit to print for fear of offending the authorities.

* * *

The American Fakeration of Labor meets to decide on a general strike to obtain justice for Mooney. First they decide to strike one week, then they decide one day is sufficient, then one hour. Finally they decide on a five minute strike. Ye Gods! What we need is another John Brown to free Mooney—the A. F. of L. won't free him.

* * *

FAMOUS SAYINGS BY GREAT MEN

"He kept us out of war"
"Too proud to fight"
"Peace without victory"
"Let's slaughter them all"

—Wilson.

* * *

"I think we have had a fair trial."—Bill Haywood.
How a rebel can credit the courts of masters with giving a fair trial is beyond us. Fairness is not a virtue with the beast when a rebel is concerned.

* * *

"Diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view."—Wilson.

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BASTILE BRIEFS

THIS month's cover of Bastile typifies the strength of the bars which surround us. It also reflects the rugged spirit of those confined within them. There is class solidarity in the lettering.

* * *

M. Goldberg will shave soon so that we will be able to design a two-color cover the next number. It will show soldiers returning home with their guns silhouetted against the hell! wait until you get it.

* * *

Send us a cake of red-orange water color and a brush, somebody—quick, we have an inspiration.

* * *

Radical magazines and papers will be welcomed with joy by Bastile.

The Day of the People

By Eugene V. Debs
From "The Class Struggle"

UPON his release from the Kaiser's bastille—the doors of which were torn from their hinges by the proletarian revolution—Karl Liebknecht, heroic leader of the rising hosts, exclaimed: "The Day of the People has arrived!" It was a magnificent challenge to the Junkers and an inspiring battle-cry to the aroused workers.

From that day to this Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and other true leaders of the German proletariat have stood bravely at the front, appealing to the workers to join the revolution and make it complete by destroying what remained of the criminal and corrupt old regime and ushering in the day of the people. Then arose the cry that the people were not yet ready for their day, and Ebert and Scheidemann and their crowd of white-livered reactionaries, with the sanction and support of the fugitive Kaiser, the infamous Junkers and all the allied powers, now in beautiful alliance, proceeded to prove that the people were not yet ready to rule themselves by setting up a bourgeois government under which the working class should remain in substantially the same state of slavish subjection they were in at the beginning of the war.

And now upon that issue—as to whether the terrible war has brought the people their day or whether its appalling sacrifices have all been in vain—the battle is raging in Germany as in Russia, and the near future will determine whether revolution has for once been really triumphant or whether sudden reaction has again won the day.

In the struggle in Russia the revolution has thus far triumphed for the reason that it has not compromised. The career of Kerensky was cut short when he attempted to turn the revolutionary tide into reactionary bourgeois channels.

Lenine and Trotzky were the men of the hour and under their fearless, incorruptible and uncompromising leadership the Russian proletariat has held the fort against the combined assaults of all the ruling class powers of earth. It is a magnificent spectacle. It stirs the blood and warms the heart of every revolutionist, and it challenges the admiration of all the world.

So far as the Russian proletariat is concerned, the day of the people has arrived, and they are fighting and dying as only heroes and martyrs can fight and die to usher in the day of the people not only in Russia but in all the nations on the globe.

In every revolution of the past the false and cowardly plea that the people were "not yet ready" has

prevailed. Some intermediate class invariably supplanted the class that was overthrown and "the people" remained at the bottom where they have been since the beginning of history. They have never been "ready" to rid themselves of their despots, robbers and parasites. All they have ever been ready for has been to exchange one brood of vampires for another to drain their veins and fatten in their misery.

That was Kerensky's doctrine in Russia and it is Scheidemann's doctrine in Germany. They are both false prophets of the people and traitors to the working class, and woe be to their deluded followers if their vicious reaction triumphs, for then indeed will the yokes be fastened upon their scarred and bleeding necks for another generation.

When Kerensky attempted to side-track the revolution in Russia by joining forces with the bourgeoisie he was lauded by the capitalist press of the whole world. When Scheidemann patriotically rushed to the support of the Kaiser and the Junkers at the beginning of the war, the same press denounced him as the betrayer of Socialism and the enemy of the people. And now this very press lauds him to the heavens as the savior of the German nation! Think of it! Scheidemann the traitor has become Scheidemann the hero of the bourgeoisie. Could it be for any other reason on earth than that Scheidemann is doing the dirty work of the capitalist class?

And all this time the prostitute press of the robber regime of the whole world is shrieking hideously against Bolshevism. "It is worse than Kaiserism" is the burden of their cry. Certainly it is. They would a thousand times rather have the Kaiser restored to his throne than to see the working class rise to power. In the latter event they cease to rule, their graft is gone and their class disappears, and well do they know it. That is what we said from the beginning and for which we have been sentenced as disloyalists and traitors.

Scheidemann and his breed do not believe that the day of the people has arrived. According to them the war and the revolution have brought the day of the bourgeoisie. Mr. Bourgeois is now to take the place of Mr. Junker—to evolve into another Junker himself by and by—while Mr. Wage-Slave remains where he was before, under the heels of his master, and all he gets out of the carnage in which his blood

dyed the whole earth is a new set of heels to grind into his exploited bones and a fresh and lusty vampire to drain his life-blood.

Away with all such perfidious doctrines; forever away with such a vicious subterfuge and treacherous betrayal!

The people are ready for their day. The people, I say. Yes, the people!

Who are the people? The people are the working class, the lower class, the robbed, the oppressed, the impoverished, the great majority of the earth. They and those who sympathize with them are the people, and they who exploit the working class, and the mercenaries and menials who aid and abet the exploiters, are the enemies of the people.

That is the attitude of Lenine and Trotzky in Russia and was of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in Germany, and this accounts for the flood of falsehood and calumny which poured upon the heads of the brave leaders and their revolutionary movement from the filthy mouthpieces of the robber regime of criminal Capitalism throughout the world.

The rise of the working-class is the red spectre in the bourgeois horizon. The red cock shall never crow. Anything but that! The Kaiser himself will be pitied and forgiven if he will but roll his eyes heavenward, proclaim the menace of Bolshevism, and appeal to humanity to rise in its wrath and stamp out this curse to civilization.

And still the "curse" continues to spread—like a raging conflagration it leaps from shore to shore. The reign of Capitalism and militarism has made of all peoples inflammable material. They are ripe and ready for the change, the great change which means the rise and triumph of the workers, the end of exploitation, of war and plunder, and the emancipation of the race. Let it come! Let us all help its coming and pave the way for it by organizing the workers industrially and politically to conquer Capitalism and usher in the day of the people.

In Russia and Germany our valiant comrades are leading the proletarian revolution, which knows no race, no color, no sex, and no boundary lines. They are setting the heroic example for world-wide emulation. Let us, like them, scorn and repudiate the cowardly compromisers within our own ranks, challenge and defy the robber-class power, and fight it out on that line to victory or death!

From the crown of my head to the soles of my feet I am Bolshevik, and proud of it.

"The Day of the People has arrived!"

The Revolutionary Strike Movement

By A. Nyemanov

THE spirit of revolt, larger and more intense, is seizing upon the workers of the world. Neither threats nor curses issued by the high priests of bourgeois society can repress the pressure of the proletarian masses. Even in countries where the revolution is not yet in action and has not unfurled the Red Flag, where the demon-gods of bourgeois society have not yet been hurled from their pedestals,—even there the growing protest of the working masses may any day flare up into action, colored by a red light.

The big British strikes, at Belfast and in the Glasgow district, and the strike movement in London, were stern warnings to the British bourgeoisie. They are at an end, but they are still a threat, and new strikes are developing. The press organs of British plutocracy are shouting at the top of their voices that Bolshevism is entrenching itself in the minds of the workers, and that the events in Belfast and Glasgow are warnings that Red Days may come as they did in Petrograd and Berlin.

The labor movement in England is slipping away from the control of the official and reactionary trades unionism. The leadership of the movement is passing into the hands of the factory-committees (Shop Stewards) and these representatives of the workers declare openly that the Russian methods are their own.

In Paris, under the very nose of the Peace Conference, a strike was recently declared by the workers and employees of almost all the city transportation system. Whether this strike was crushed by the police and the military, we do not know; we are in the dark, for the vigilant eye of the censor allows only fragmentary news to pass concerning the workers' movement in Europe. But a New York paper the other day printed a Paris dispatch—which we are ready to believe—that the germs of Bolshevism are penetrating the "capital of the world."

No wonder, therefore, that even the Peace Con-

ference is discussing the "solution" of the "labor" problem. Even the aristocratic diplomats will have to get busy with "dirty work."

Difficult times have come for the bourgeoisie, dangerous and fraught with great events.

Industrialism in Australia

The conference of the One Big Union, the name under which the Industrial Union movement is making great strides in the Commonwealth, held at Sydney a short time ago issued an appeal to the returning soldiers and sailors. The manifesto deals with the conditions which will confront these men on their return and points out that their only hope lies in organization in co-operation with the workers, along the lines of the Russian Soviets and the councils of Workers and Soldiers which are developing so rapidly in many European countries. The concluding paragraphs of the document are as follows:

"The only means to redress these evils is strong and effective industrial organization. The One Big Union is the one form of organization which will enable us to resist the continuance of profiteering and insure for all a decent livelihood.

"We, therefore, appeal to you to link up with the industrial organizations without delay. Attempts are being made by the employing class, against which we most emphatically warn you, to divide the workers into antagonistic camps, with the view of reducing wages and still further plundering all other sections of the community. We live in critical times, when events are moving rapidly. We can, by united effort, secure more complete economic and social freedom than we have ever before possessed. Should we neglect our present opportunities the shackles of industrial servitude will be riveted upon us and upon you, and the forces of reaction triumph."

Then there have been great strikes in Brussels, in Sweden and Switzerland, and in far-off India. In the Central Powers the revolutionary movement is still active. Events in Spain have so shaken the bourgeoisie that the report comes—of Lenin being in Barcelona! South America is a-tremble with strikes and revolutionary agitation.

The old capitalist world is writhing in mortal agony. A new life is bursting forth. And even where the movement has not yet assumed the stormy form of revolutionary protest, the troubled conscience of the masters of bourgeois society sees the red hand of the proletarian revolution which is writing on the wall the stern words prophesying the coming end of our present social system.

And things are not at all calm in the United States. The American Senate, this college of pontifical priests, runs here and there in search for culprits who are disturbing social peace. Bankers and merchants are lavishly spending money to fight the Bolshevik menace. The Department of Justice is alert. Hundreds of fighters in the cause of labor are being thrown into jail; others are being deported. The Espionage Act is still in force—but strikes and revolutionary agitation multiply.

The American bourgeoisie expects, and is preparing for, the advent of stormy weather. Strikes assume revolutionary character.

The American bourgeoisie hears the thunder peals of the coming storm. Obeying the instinct of self-preservation, it resorts to the use of the old methods in hope of crushing the movement. The capitalists are strong and organized, while the American working class is still learning, still not adept in mass action. Strikes are still isolated in character. But it is developing. The revolutionary strike movement developing all over the world is having its expression in our country. The European methods of proletarian struggle must become international, are becoming international.

Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship

By N. Bucharin

IF we are to have a dictatorship of the workers and peasants with the object of putting down the bourgeoisie, of depriving the bourgeoisie of any opportunity to undertake attempts to reestablish its power, it is clear, that there is no room for any wide liberties for the bourgeoisie, nor for extending the right of suffrage to the bourgeoisie, nor for transforming the Soviet power into a bourgeois-republican parliament.

The Communist (Bolshevik) Party is assailed from all sides with expressions of dissatisfaction, and even with threats, to this effect: "You are closing up the newspapers, dispersing meetings, violating the freedom of speech and of the press; you are establishing an autocracy, you are highwaymen and murderers" and other similar things. We must therefore go into the question of "liberties" in the Soviet Republic in considerable detail.

Let us take an example. When, in March 1917, the revolution broke out, and the Czarist ministers (Sturmer, Protopopov, etc.) were arrested, did anyone object? No one did. And yet, these arrests, like any other arrests, were a violation of *Personal Liberty*. Why was this violation approved by all? And why did we then say: "So it is and so it should be?" Simply because these arrests were of persons who were dangerous counter-revolutionaries. And in revolutionary times more than in any other it is necessary to observe the eleventh commandment: "Thou shalt not be caught napping!" If we do not remain constantly watchful, if we allow full freedom of action to all the enemies of the people and make no effort to restrict them, there soon will be very little left of the revolution.

Another example. At the time the Sturmers and Goremykins were being arrested, the Black Hundred press was also suppressed. This was very clearly a violation of the *freedom of the press*. But was this violation of the freedom of the press justifiable? Of course it was. And not one reasonable man will attempt to deny that this act was as it should be. Why? Again simply for the reason that in a life and death struggle it is necessary to deprive the enemy of his weapons. And one of these is the press.

In the November Revolution, in Kiev, the Black Hundred organization, "The Double-Headed Eagle," was suppressed, in addition to a number of others. This was a violation of the *liberty of association*. Yet it was a proper act, since the revolution cannot tolerate liberty of association to organizations directed against the revolution.

When Kornilov was advancing on Petrograd, a number of generals went on strike, refusing to submit to the orders of the Provisional Government. They declared themselves to be entirely in favor of Kornilov. Could we afford to support this kind of liberty of a "generals' strike"? It was necessary to proceed against such strikes on the part of the Black Hundred generals with the most severe measures.

What is the point of all this? We see that violations of every variety of liberty are necessary in dealing with the *opponents of the revolution*. There cannot in revolutionary eras be any liberties for the enemies of the people and of the revolution. That is a clear, irrefutable position.

From March to November, neither the Mensheviks, nor the right Social-Revolutionaries, nor the bourgeoisie, raised any outcry against the "forcible seizures" undertaken in March, against the abrogation of the freedom of the (Black Hundred) press, of the (Black Hundred) speech, etc. No outcry was raised, because these acts were carried out by the power seized by the bourgeoisie in March: the Guchkovs, Milyukovs, Rodzyankos, Tereshchenkos and their faithful servants, the Kerenskys and Tseretellis.

In November the situation had changed. Then the workers came out against the bourgeoisie, which on March had been sitting on their necks. In November the peasants supported the workers. Of course the bourgeoisie was inspired with an insane hatred of the workers' revolution, which was hardly exceeded by the hatred felt by the feudal landholders. All the great property owners now united against the working class and the poorest peasants. All rallied to the support of the so-called party of popular liberty (actually the party of popular treason) against the people. And naturally, when the people began to put some pressure on these their enemies, the latter began to shout in impotent rage: "Mob violence!" "Highwaymen!" etc.

The following is, however, clear to the workers and peasants. The Communist Party not only does not demand any liberties whatever for the bourgeois

FOREWORD

N. Bucharin is a dominant factor in the Communist Party of Russia, and since early in the Revolution head of the Moscow Soviet. He was for years, together with Lenin, the brains of the Bolsheviks. During the Revolution Bucharin was aggressive and implacable; and after the conquest of power by the proletariat and the organization of the Soviet State, he was the representative of the extreme left of the Communist Party, opposing Lenin as moderate on many issues, although one with Lenin on the general theory and policy of revolutionary proletarian dictatorship and communism.

Bucharin is an original thinker as well as an extraordinary able propagandist. His writings on Imperialism are of first importance and it is the intention of *The Revolutionary Age* soon to make them available to American Socialists. This article is a chapter from Bucharin's book *The Program of the Communist Party*, published in Russia about eight months ago. We shall publish other chapters from time to time.

A quiet, restrained and unassuming man, Bucharin is consumed by an intense energy and revolutionary spirit.

enemies of the people (such as, liberty of the press, of speech, of association, assembly, etc.). On the contrary: it demands constant readiness to confiscate the bourgeois press, to disperse the meetings of the enemies of the people, to prevent them from disseminating lies, intrigues, and panic; to put down in the most ruthless manner every effort they make to return to power. For that is what the *dictatorship of the proletariat* means.

In other words, when we speak of the press, our first question should be: What press is under discussion, the bourgeois or the proletarian? When it is a matter of meetings, we must first ask: whose meetings, those of workers, or those of counter-revolutionaries? When the question of strikes is raised, our first concern is this: is it a strike of the workers against the bourgeoisie or a sabotage of the bourgeoisie or the bourgeois *intelligentsia* against the proletariat? Anybody who can't see this can't see anything. The press, meetings, association, etc., are instruments of the class struggle, and in a revolutionary epoch they are instruments of civil war, no less than the physical military supplies, such as machine-guns, gunpowder, shell. And the whole question amounts simply to this: by what class are they being used, and against what class? The working class cannot afford liberty of organization to the uprisings of Kornilovs, Dutovs and Milyukovs, against the toiling masses. Similarly, it cannot grant absolute liberty of action, organization, speech, press, assembly, to counter-revolutionary chieftains who with great persistence are carrying through their program and only waiting for a chance to hurl themselves against the workers and peasants.

When the right Social-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks utter the battle-cry of the "Constitutional Assembly," they are really concerned with votes for the bourgeoisie. Similarly, when they shout wildly about the annihilation of all liberties, they are concerned with the *liberties of the bourgeoisie*. No one may touch the bourgeois press, the bourgeois leaders, the counter-revolutionary bourgeois organizations—that is the position these people take.

"But," we are told, "you also closed down the Menshevik and Social-Revolutionist papers; more than once the Communist Party has failed to respect the persons of respectable people, people who had been jailed under the Czar's regime. How about that?" We shall answer this question with another: When Gotz, a right Social-Revolutionist, Colonel, organized an uprising of the military cadets and officers against the soldiers and workers, should we care him fondly for this activity? When Rudtseff, a right Social-Revolutionist, organized a Moscow White Guard in November consisting of bourgeois boys, house-owners and other gentlemen, the gilded youth, and together with officers and military cadets tried to put down with machine guns and to drown in blood the November uprising of the workers and soldiers—were we for this to decorate him with an order? When the Menshevik paper *Forward* (which should have been called "Backward") and the Social-Revolutionist *Labor* lied to the Moscow workers at a most critical hour, saying that Kornilov had taken Petrograd (and they did this to crush the will of the workers), did they deserve our praise for this little provocative prank?

What must we infer from all this? The following: If the social-traitor leaders and the social-traitor papers begin to serve the bourgeoisie with unmitigated ardor, if they cease to differ in any respect from the Black-Hundred-Cadet-Pogrom Band, in their public utterances, we shall have to adopt the same measures

in dealing with them as in dealing with their beloved masters and benefactors. Many such persons at present, who in their day fought against the Czar and the nobles, now set up a dying wail whenever the workers touch the possessions of the bourgeoisie. For the past—they have our gratitude. But if at the present conjuncture, they are going to resemble the Black Hundred in their actions, we must act against them.

While the bourgeoisie and all the other enemies of the proletariat and the poorest peasants must be muzzled, the proletarians and peasants themselves must have the fullest liberty of speech, association, press, etc., and they must have these not in words only, but in fact. Never under any system of society were there so many organizations of workers and peasants as there are now under the Soviet power. Never did any state support so many workers and peasants organizations, as in our day under the Soviet power. This is the result of the simple reason that the Soviet power is the power of the workers and peasants themselves, and it is not surprising that this power should support the organizations of the working class, in so far as that is possible, in so far as the strength and the means are present. And we repeat: the Communist Party is really introducing these liberties, not merely promising them to the world. Here is a little example: The liberty of the workers' press. Under the pressure of the working class even the bourgeoisie had consented to certain degree of liberty for the workers' press. But the workers have not the means: the printing offices are all in the hands of the capitalists. The paper is also in the hands of the capitalists, who have bought everything. The peasant has his liberty of the press, but he cannot make this liberty real, because he has not the wherewithal. The Communists turn to the gentlemen controlling the printing offices, declare them to be the property of the workers' and peasants' state, and places them at the disposal of the working comrades—they may now actually realize their right to a free press. Of course the capitalist gentlemen will set up a howl. But it is clear that the right to a free press can be realized *only* in this way.

They may put another question to us: why did not the Bolsheviks speak sooner concerning the abolition of full rights for the bourgeoisie? Why did they formerly stand for a bourgeois-democratic republic? Why did they themselves formerly stand for the Constituent Assembly? And not asking of depriving the bourgeoisie of the right of suffrage? Why, in a word, have they now changed their program on these questions?

The reason is very simple: the working class has hitherto not had the *strength* to attempt an open attack on the bourgeois fortress. They needed preparatory measures, a gathering of energies, enlightenment of the masses, organization.

They did, to be sure, have liberty of the workers' press, of their own, not of the press of their masters. But they could not go to the capitalists, and to their state power, and state the demand: Messrs. Capitalists, shut down your papers and open up ours! People would have laughed at them, for it is ridiculous to put any such demand to the capitalists; it would be equivalent to asking them to cut their own throats. Such demands can only be made at the height of a successful onslaught. No earlier time was suitable. That is why the worker, as well as our party, used to say: Hurrah for freedom of the press (the *whole* press, including the bourgeois). Or, to take another example: It is clear that employers' leagues, which throw the workers into the streets, keep blacklists, etc., are harmful to the working class. But the working class could not openly demand: Abolish your organizations and establish ours! To do that they would first have had to *crush the capitalist power*. And for that they were not strong enough. That is why our party then also cried: we demand liberty of associations (in general, not only for the workers).

But the times have changed. Now we are no longer discussing prolonged preparations for the battle: we are already in the day of the final attack, after the first great victory over the bourgeoisie. The working class is now confronted with another task: To *crush* the opposition of the bourgeoisie.

And for that reason the working class, which is now acting for the liberation of all humanity from the cruelties and horrors of capitalism, must with inflexible resoluteness carry out this task: no consideration for the bourgeoisie, but full liberty, and the means of exercising such liberty, to the working class and the poorest peasants.

The Wrath of the Millions

By Barnet Braverman

THROUGHOUT the world the wrath of the proletariat is preparing to hurl itself at the forces of Imperialism.

The wrath of an accusing working class is about to deal with the politicians and financiers of Imperialism whose power is based on a bluff and on past, dense ignorance of the working class.

In Paris, the ablest servants of Imperialism have been conducting a series of discussions to consider ways and means of bolstering their worn, decayed social system. Through press channels these servants of Imperialism would have us think of their discussions as the embodiment of a peace conference.

But where is there peace?

There will be no peace in the world after the servants of Imperialism have adjourned their conference. There can be no peace—there shall be no peace—in the world until the workers have organized their wrath and used it mercilessly to crush laws, customs, and institutions that have enabled a few imperialist politicians and financiers to exploit and bleed the proletariat.

While Wilson and House, Lloyd George and Balfour and Pichon, and other representatives of Imperialism are evolving a capitalist peace and considering the possibility of future wars in which the workers are to murder one another without cause, the wrath of the proletariat is raising its giant form, ready to strike hard in England, Ireland, Scotland, South America, the United States, Roumania, Italy.

While the world is in the throes of proletarian wrath, what are the Socialists of America thinking, now?

American Socialists should reconcile themselves to the cold, bare fact that parliamentary or moderate Socialism is dead to stay dead.

Moderate Socialism in America gave its last gasp when its high priest, Victor Berger, was convicted a few weeks ago for violation of the espionage act.

I think, moderate Socialism in America gave its last gasp when its arch apostle, while on the witness stand, revealed graphically and unconsciously, the craven, compromising, treacherous, psychology of moderate Socialism as he expressed disapproval of the Bolsheviks in Russia and revolutionary working-class tendencies in the United States. Will American Socialists agree that this brand of Ebert-Kerensky-Scheideman Socialism is more dangerous to intelligent American working class revolution than capitalists with their institutions? They should, if they be honest and clear in their perceptions.

Why the childish prattle of moderate Socialism, to appease the anger of imperialists, about buying out the industries when they can be expropriated by a government based on proletarian dictatorship? American capitalism will never sell itself out any more than did feudalism or American negro slavery.

Socialists should discard the practice of trying to cater to the good will of the enemies of the working class. Socialist policy must become drastic and posi-

tive in its demands and welcome a similar policy from the bourgeoisie although the latter have shown they need no invitations to be drastic and positive in their methods for the protection of their power.

Today the forces of American, French, English, Italian, Japanese and German imperialism are lined up solidly against the proletarian revolution in Russia. Socialists in America should realize their task to bring pressure upon American Imperialism by supporting the Bolsheviks and world-wide revolt.

The United States teems with proletarian wrath that is not yet organized, the wrath of people who distrust the government in foreign affairs, the wrath of men and women workers who want something more out of life than the opportunity to work from sunrise to sundown, the wrath of a greatly increasing unemployed army, the wrath of returning soldiers who are jobless after having fought for "democracy" and "freedom." These people, fretting under the double yoke of economic insecurity, unemployment and high prices, constitute the material now before our eyes, the material with which we must work to create self-disciplined mass revolution.

An American revolutionary Socialist movement must convince workers that their wrath can bring them permanent relief from economic insecurity only when their indignation is expressed in conscious mass action for the abolition of the capitalist state called "democracy" and the organization of a state recognizing the needs of those who work on a socially useful status.

Moderate Socialism has always interfered with the development of working class initiative just as much as the conservative labor unions of the American Federation of Labor. Moderate Socialism has ever supported the capitalist state in which the bourgeois have always held the reins of power.

There is no difference between moderate Socialism and bourgeois reform. The former is to catch votes for some Socialist politician, and the latter to carry out reforms under pressure from the masses.

In many sections of the country factories and mills are closing or have shut down. A revolutionary Socialist government based on proletarian dictatorship would not hesitate to expropriate and open these factories and mills for the employment of those who are eager to work, eager to produce wealth.

In different states conferences (always "conferences") are on between state and federal officials and conservative, sane labor leaders, all engrossed in the problem of reaching a solution for unemployment.

Conferences are of no avail. Bourgeois conferences (conservative, sane labor leaders belong to the lower strata of the bourgeois) never helped the workers.

Can conferences between government officials and conservative labor leaders give employment to ten million unemployed persons (figures based on figures by Dean Kirchwey, for the United States Department of Labor) while private owners of industry deem it unprofitable to employ or buy labor power?

Talk emanating from conferences and reported in the press with a pretense of achievement will not solve economic problems of the moment, especially at this moment, with proletarian wrath holding itself ready to take what the bourgeois refuse to give up—the control of government and industry.

As far as moderate Socialism is concerned in the matter, it cannot rise from its grave to offer spectre promises that could not be kept. Wherever moderate Socialism had opportunity to co-operate with revolutionary mass demands, it developed into social patriotism, capitalist state worship, counter-revolution and discouraged working class initiative.

Is the American Socialist movement to be a factor in the world-wide proletarian revolution? Then it must welcome and promote initiative among the people, to create social conflicts that will put the bourgeois on the defensive, must encourage disregard and disdain of imperialist social and economic repression, must support attacks of the workers on every form of bourgeois control.

Nothing short of a dictatorship of the revolutionary Socialist proletariat as the forerunner of genuine industrial democracy, should become the dominant note in American Socialist policy. There cannot, will not, be room for any other policy, because people are not in a mood for compromise with unemployment, economic insecurity and other phases of capitalist civilization, after supporting a war that was foisted upon them in the name of democracy and freedom.

A degraded press, ever since the Bolsheviks assumed power fifteen months ago, has been looking upon the proletarian revolution in Russia with alarm, derision, hatred. With the spirit of revolt imbedding itself in the hearts (and I hope the heads as well) of the American masses, press, politicians and financiers refer to Bolshevism as a bogey, a force resolving itself into chaos and confusion.

What worse chaos and confusion can be produced than exists now throughout the world as a result of capitalist imperialist domination?

The bourgeoisie has nothing to offer the people, and is powerless before the historic forces of post-war events. Bourgeois organization of industry is cracking. But many are not aware of this at present. Occasionally a London will say words to disarm the workers about the consciousness of their might, as he did, not so long ago in the House of Representatives, when he referred to the proletarian revolution as an impossibility in the United States.

But before us looms the wrath of the millions!

And we hail the wrath of the millions!

The growing wrath of the people indicates their awakening from the slumbering stupor of capitalist democracy. And this wrath, that must become self-disciplined and intelligently expressed, shall use its energy in building order out of chaos, establishing a real world peace, creating a Soviet republic, and organizing a league of free working class nations.

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